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Bulgaria in European Security and Defense Policy

by

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United States Army War College
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Abstract

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Part I. Describe the current and future security environment for Europe and the implications for both the European Union and Bulgaria; then, provide additional detail on the environment Bulgaria faces and will face in the near future. Part II. Briefly summarize the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) strategy. Then, summarize and make recommendations for the Bulgarian contribution to ESDP. Part III. Describe current trends in the armed forces of European Union and European NATO countries. Describe current plans and, more importantly, make recommendations for Bulgarian force structure changes.

Bulgaria in European Security and Defense Policy

The adaptation of the system of defense of the Republic of Bulgaria to contemporary threats is particularly relevant in scientific and practical terms, as evidenced by the adoption of many new documents of strategic importance for the country. These documents are the result of major changes in the social economic relations in the world and the Balkans in the last decade. In this dynamic environment, the Republic of Bulgaria, as a full member of NATO and the European Union, will continue to play an important role in strengthening security in Europe, particularly the Balkans and Black Sea region.

This paper identifies the major characteristics in the security environment to facilitate detection of major challenges, risks and threats to the national security of the Republic of Bulgaria. It also discusses the creation and development of the European Security and Defense Policy and the contribution of the Bulgarian army and makes recommendations for changes in the structure of the armed forces.

The security environment and the evaluation of its impact on government policy is one of the most complex challenges because changes in the security environment can change the state aim. Evaluation of the security environment includes a wide range of issues such as prevailing trends and displacement of the centers of the major forces in the world, critical uncertainties, economic independence; changing needs within countries, cultural, regional and demographic developments, ethnic conflict, shifting character of the environment, and the development of new technologies.[1]

Globalization in more detail can be seen as a process or transformation that social and financial relations, expressed in transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interact. Globalization is showing signs of continuing and even

accelerating in the coming years as communication and interaction in international economies are becoming increasingly available at lower prices and with greater efficiency. The ability to communicate directly and indirectly and therefore influence the public through media, music, and movies has become cheaper and easier to do. As a result of globalization, economic systems and cultures are shared and interact easily. Globalization, and its resulting social, political and economic interaction and the communication revolution, has become a driving force shaping challenging trends that will be have to be addressed in the future security environment.

Globalization allows people to organize globally on the basis of ideas (as in the case of democratic movements for freedom in areas such as China, Nepal, and terrorist or extremist movements); manufactured goods in one country affect the price of one or more items in other countries and creates a system of independence and communication which in some circumstances, mainly economic, appear as free systems. But globalization hides some threats. The introduction of Western culture through the media can increase anti-Western movements in countries such as Pakistan or other Islamic countries. These growing interconnections can increase competition for resources and pressure to adapt to certain economic and social systems. Countries and regions unable to do so risk failure or becoming extremely poor. Assessment of the security environment in the early 21st century is driven by global security risks.

The role of religion underwent a significant change as a consequence of continued exposure from the religious influence of the West and cultural globalization. The major global religions are Christianity (2 billion adherents) Islam (1 billion) and Hinduism (0.7 billion). In the developed world, 0.9 billion people are classified as

atheists or unbelievers. Data show that the percentage of non-believers has increased globally by 0.2% to 16% in the last 100 years. The impact of globalization on the growing Islamic population could lead to an increase in religious extremism and terrorism as their supporters seek to restore Islamic cultural and political traditions from Western cultural influence. Modernization has created a new generation of technological understanding and adapted religious movements like evangelism in America, "Hinduism" in India, Sufism and Wahhabi Islam in the Middle East, Pantheism in Africa and Latin America and Opus Dea and the Charismatic movement in the Catholic Church. Many of these movements are given sinister labels and deliberately presented as evil.[2] The most dynamic religion today is not as old religion but that which is radical, modern and conservative.

Radicalism is the political orientation of those who favor revolutionary change in government and society. Extremism is any political theory favoring immoderate uncompromising policies. Radicalism can be attributed to Extremism. Radicalism is not a new phenomenon. It has probably become stronger in the past decade and this trend is likely to continue. The media allows fast and wide global coverage, showing pictures of radical protesters from the summits of the G8 and the WTO, Nazi gatherings, activities of Greenpeace, Christian radicals protesting against abortion or Islamic radicals who protest in Gaza, Afghanistan and Beirut. Some of these groups have a large number of radical supporters.

Political Islam is known by many terms: "Islam," "militant Islam", "Islamic Revival", "Fundamentalism." The hallmark of political Islam is its purpose- namely the Islamisation of political order, which is tantamount to overthrowing an existing regime in

order to reject the Western model. The Intent is to replace these regimes in Islamic countries. It is important to recognize the difference between religions and Islamic religious ideology.

Global Sufism Jihad is a deliberate strategy that unites the masses of relatively uneducated Muslims to accept the obvious simple message that, countries like Israel the U.S. and others are the "eternal enemy".

Despite arms control and efforts to counter the proliferation of weapons, their spread continues. In the absence of adequate countermeasures, some countries continue to seek such capabilities to protect against regional threats, to increase their global and regional influence and to deter Western intervention. Some countries will probably focus on the acquisition of resources for conducting nuclear, chemical and biological warfare. Non-lethal weapons of mass effect are a logical next step and may potentially be developed and used. These weapons, such as electromagnetic pulses or destructive computer viruses can cause damage to the economy and government without major human casualties.

Another immediate threat is the increasing global availability of firearms. Approximately 1,249 companies in 92 countries manufacture firearms. These weapons are cheap, easy to find and are the most dangerous to security. Also they are characterized by long life, durability, high portability, ease of maintenance and are easy to conceal. The acquisition of these weapons by high risk security groups is a serious threat for the future. Unfortunately there is a tendency to reduce both legal and illegal global arms trade.

Climate change is a permanent natural phenomenon. There is a significant increase in global temperature which leads to a significantly reduced amount of drinking water, rising sea levels due to the melting of the polar ice, and an increasing frequency and intensity of natural disasters such as drought, floods, hail and tropical cyclones. The impact of global warming may be influenced by the degree of increased global gas emissions. Stabilizing atmospheric concentrations of gases will require considerable effort. Based on current trends, the growth of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases is expected to lead to an equivalent doubling of pre-industrial concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere up to the end of the century.[3] Developed countries are looking for ways to reduce gas emissions by switching to low-carbon or carbon-free fuel and reforming market regulations. Contamination can now be found everywhere, even in the middle of the ocean. In developing and poorer countries with their greater desire for economic development and fewer controls on industrial pollution of air, water and food, the risk will be to humans and the environment. As a result of the effects of global warming, the sea level is expected to rise, flooding coastal areas. This can lead to flooding areas and the subsequent salting of fresh water and agricultural land, destruction of industry, trade and inducing massive migration. The upward trend in climate change and subsequent flooding will change the type of traditional agriculture. Changes in temperature and precipitation will affect the amount of land that is suitable for production. The current forecast for a rise in average sea temperature can seriously affects fisheries. This can impair reproduction and reduce the growth of plankton or alter its distribution; this will reduce the fish food source and trigger migration from mid-latitudes in the northern waters. Forests provide valuable resources for food, shelter,

fuel, and daily supplies such as medicinal raw materials and paper. The loss of forests will deeply affect local and national economies and international trade. Depletion of forest resources or natural disasters like fire or human activity through clear felling and converting it into arable land will have the effect of reinforcing the trend of climate change. Depletion of forest resources will also have long-term effects on climate, soil, and their storage.[4]

Global food production, including genetically modified food, will continue to grow faster than the population. Furthermore, while the food will be enough for those who can afford to buy it, for millions of poorer people it will be impossible. Natural distribution of water and global consumption is increasing rapidly. One third of the world population lives in countries already experiencing medium to high levels of water shortage by year 2030.[5]

Human health can be compromised by problems with impure water, and it can affect regional stocks of water resources but also the water that people use for fishing. Pathogenic microorganisms or carcinogenic chemicals in high concentrations can affect drinking water supplies. According to the World Health Organization more than 13 million people die annually, and 1500 per hour of communicable diseases.[6] The diseases causing the highest mortality are pneumonia, tuberculosis, diarrheal diseases, malaria, rubella and HIV.

World energy use is growing rapidly and we need international cooperation to provide cost-effective, safe and sustainable energy sources that are vital to the industry and developing countries. Energy use is likely to double in the next twenty years. Energy resources of the earth are sufficient to meet the needs until 2030, but the

problem is how much will it cost. Natural gas will become increasingly important as a raw material and will yield enough and likely undergo a small price changes. Reserves of fossil fuels are not expected to decrease by 2030 and for some time afterwards. The Middle East and North Africa will remain the largest producers, while at the same time the importance of the Caspian region, West Asia, the Gulf of Guinea, Russia and North Africa will increase and therefore stability and security will be more important in this area. Energy security is an issue of increasing importance as energy producers showed some tendency to use oil and gas for political influence.

For developed countries, the most serious energy problem will be access to the energy market and maintaining secure areas for mining stocks and the security of supply routes for their delivery. Unprecedented efforts are needed to protect the infrastructure and transport corridors. The use of nuclear energy is likely to increase when renewable energy sources are not able to cope with the energy demand and when supplies of fossil fuels stop and the dangers of global warming become large.

Several demographic trends can cause considerable difficulties for international stability in the coming decades. At the current rate, the world will have nearly 8 billion people in 2025.[7] The share of world population growth will be increased in developing countries. The number of people in extreme poverty will increase significantly. In addition, there are small groups of very rich people related with the world economy. The big difference in people's incomes in these countries is a potential source of conflict and violence.

Education will be an important determinant of success for both the individual and the nation. The globalization of economic and technological change inevitably place

increasing demands for a highly skilled labor force. Education is of great benefit to people, economies and tolerance. Again, less developed countries are ranked behind in this respect, reducing hopes for prosperity and increasing people's ignorance. Poor education makes people more susceptible to malicious propaganda and leads to economic decline.

Migration flows in recent years point to attractive areas with the possibility of finding a job. As a result, developing countries are losing population and intelligence, to the prosperous countries. This migration and the lack of social and cultural integration will threaten social peace. The best way to reduce the mass migration is to reduce the desire of people to flee their homes. International migration combined with a "brain drain" from developing to industrial countries will be one of the main trends in the 21st century.

What are the challenges, risks and threats to the national security of the Republic of Bulgaria? The last decade formed a continuously changing, dynamic military strategic environment. Gradually developed trust and cooperation extended to the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration. This integration increased the collective capacity for conflict prevention and crisis management. This increased both international and regional security and that of the individual states. The degree of danger of global conflict remains low and does not pose a threat to world peace.[8] The development of the military environment is generally positive, but there are still uncertainties and risks that have the potential to develop into acute crisis. Bulgaria is situated in an extremely important area of the geopolitical region. Along with Greece and Romania, Bulgaria is the external border of the European Union to various unstable

regions – the western part of the Balkan Peninsula and the Black Sea Caucasus region. The country is a bridgehead to other civilized systems and a conductor of the value system of Western democracies to the Middle East and North Africa. The country is part of the emerging transportation network connection which is the shortest possible path to areas rich in minerals (gold, oil, natural gas). The strategic importance of the formation of the Bulgarian security environment is Southeast Europe and Black Sea. Here the processes of cooperation and economic development are taking place. The significance of this region increases with the expansion of NATO and the EU and its transformation into the eastern boundary of the two unions. Improving coordination between NATO and the EU in the field of security and common defense policy reduces the likelihood of inter-state conflicts in Europe. On the other hand, the military superiority of NATO dooms to failure any action leading to inter-state conflicts. The security environment of the Republic of Bulgaria is dynamic and inextricably linked to insecurity and instability in countries outside the Euro-Atlantic area. Key factors shaping the security environment in Bulgaria in the next 10-15 years are; globalization and other transnational asymmetric risks and threats, regional instability with its various forms of expression, the process of Euro-Atlantic and European integration aspirations of the international community to prevent threats and timely response to crises. Existing threats and risks to security are not new.

Countries of the Euro-Atlantic community and especially the European Union are facing the same challenges but with an increased intensity. Bulgaria is in the periphery of the Euro-Atlantic space, close to areas of tension and sources of threats, including the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Asia in general. Terrorism,

proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and organized crime are the most serious threats to international and national security. The main factors that directly affect the realization and protection of the national interests of Bulgaria are: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts and tensions, organized crime, environmental issues, illegal migration, energy dependence, and demographic challenges. Additionally, unregulated production and distribution of goods and dual-use technologies, and the opportunities for growth of ethno-religious and social extremism add to Bulgaria's challenges.

The nature and parameters of the risks and security threats require the use of wide-ranging approaches to achieve the required end result of resolving conflicts. This includes political, military, civil and economic tools and instruments. Emerging risks, unconventional and asymmetric threats may gradually transform from potential to actual. In the coming years, the world will face security issues such as weapons of mass destruction and potential unconventional threats from the Middle East and South East Asia. Increasingly important in shaping the military and non-military environments are challenges such as trafficking in weapons, drugs and people, unsolved problems of environmental protection and health; distribution of water, food and energy resources, cross-border transmission of infectious and epidemic infections and toxic pollutants, natural disasters, industrial accidents and major disasters; demographic problems, including migration, threats to information a systems and organized crime.

The western Balkans remains unstable due to existing socio-economic, political, ethno-national and ethno-religious conflicts. Poor economies, high unemployment and inefficient administration and judiciary systems, uncontrolled drug trafficking, weapons

and people allow organized crime to be the dominant factor in public and political life, which is reflected in the rest of the region. Weak border control and poor economic opportunities make the Balkan's internal security vulnerable to the expanding presence of radical Islam which use the resources of the region for the recruitment and training of new terrorists. The evolution of the search for ethno-national and religious identity of different ethnic minority groups in the region will continue to shape and possibly escalate the crises. The Western Balkans will continue to constitute the major risks and challenges to national security. The situation in the region will only stabilize slowly only with significant political and economic support from the international community, military support from NATO, the EU and other nations. There are some risks and potential threats which could exist under certain conditions which would destabilize the situation in the region. There is a range of risks associated with the ongoing processes, the presence of extreme nationalism, ethnic and religious confrontation issues of statehood, active and organized crime infiltration of the area of radical Islamic ideologies and structures. A risk factor for security in the region can be found in some countries' domestic terrorism (the separatist, nationalist, ethnic, ideological or other grounds). An example of this is the Kurdish PKK. Their military activity is a clear terrorist threat to Turkey. The organization continues to maintain a course of "armed struggle" using terrorist means. The introduction and spread in recent years of radical Islamic ideas and structures in the area pose a risk and potential terrorist threat to stability and security. There are some assumptions: that a significant contingent of people within Islamic religion, radical nationalism, and veterans of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, live in the region of Kosovo. These people are the main agents attracting the youth. The

involvement of the Western Balkan countries, including Bulgaria, in the anti-terrorist coalition and the presence of their military forces in crisis zones such as Iraq, Afghanistan and Lebanon (with an active presence in these countries to terrorist organizations) create opportunities, risks and threats. Such threats are related to the activities of international terrorist networks and structures. "Al Qaeda" plays a particular role.

In Southeastern Europe, there is a large contingent of foreign nationals from countries at risk and possible terrorist groups increasing the scale of threat. It is possible that even in these countries they have established "sleeper cells" of international terrorists waiting to be activated under specific conditions (possibly depending on the position of a country in a particular problem or crisis.) The ongoing process of disintegration of the state tends to expand and cover the Western Balkans to the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Middle East. Unresolved conflicts in Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Kurdistan will continue to constitute a set of potential threats - border disputes, and various forms of trafficking, organized crime, illegal migration, general complexity arising from all sets of systems, difficult and unpopular reforms to the population. A possible extension of these types of threats poses challenges to the development prospects of the region across societies and countries of the Euro-Atlantic community, including the security of the energy corridors. This highlights the Black Sea region as the main communication artery of global and regional risks and threats arising from them.

The demographic crisis in Europe and Bulgaria in particular has the potential to impact the majority of social and political life of the country. Increasing emigration

among young people is a prerequisite for reducing labor and intellectual potential of the nation. The void left by emigration will be filled by nationalities of other countries and ethnic minority groups with low levels of culture. As an external border of Europe and the bridgehead of Euro-Atlantic values to the Middle East and Asia, Bulgaria faces the huge challenge of stopping the penetration of terrorism and international organized crime from the east and to counter radical Islamic fundamentalism and cut illegal trafficking of people, drugs and weapons embargo.[9] Additional risks to national security include natural disasters and their consequences, industrial accidents and hazardous contamination of the environment across borders.

Europe must be ready to share the responsibility for global security and in building a better world. There are two factors which determine the strength of the military component of the EU at the beginning of the 21st century: the new security environment marked by global terrorism and the internal dynamics of the integration process.[10] Adopting the European Security Strategy reflects the evolution of the EU's development and its role in the world. Although the final version of this document is a compromise, it is clearly a confident ambition of the EU to develop mechanisms and instruments - including the use of military force to defend its interests to help promote security. The EU Security Strategy identifies five key threats to the EU. These are terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, failed states, organized crime and regional conflicts. The EU clearly recognizes that in today's interdependent world, the first line of defense will often be abroad. This challenge requires the development of an appropriate strategic culture, which includes an early, rapid and when necessary, robust intervention, and strategic objectives to build security in the European region and to

create a viable international order. In fact, the use of military force is the element that is reminiscent of U.S. national security strategy and the doctrine of pre-emption. Indeed, the strategy of the European Union does not exclude these possibilities in dealing with threats, but details do import significant differences: military power is not the first instrument to which the EU will resort and, where necessary, intervention will be in international norms and institutions like the UN. Security Strategy takes into account the fact that none of the threats have military character and therefore cannot be controlled by military means.[11] For this purpose, we need serious development of defense resources, effective use of these resources, and greater cooperation in intelligence sharing, cooperation with other countries. The European Union is a global actor who is ready to share the responsibility for global security in case of need and will be able to respond with rapid and decisive action across the whole spectrum of operations management crises – humanitarian and rescue missions, peacekeeping and peace enforcement operation. According to the European Security Strategy, action can also include disarmament operations, support for third world countries in combating terrorism and reform of the security sector. The essential innovation is the concept of "battle groups" consisting of the combined arms battalion, with military support, as a specific form of rapid response and elements of the EU rapid response. In line with its objectives the Union pays special attention to the corresponding strategic transport and the development of the necessary compatibility and networking of all communications equipment.[12] The European Security Strategy defines the variety of resources that should be used to ensure global peace given the new asymmetric threats. In Helsinki, the European Council’s goal is to create a European Rapid Reaction Force. The force

should be approximately 50-60 thousand supported by about 500 combat and transport aircraft and, if necessary - of 15 naval vessels. The degree of openness is 60 days, with a minimum term of their deployment one year. The main part of the forces is Euro corps composed of forces from five countries - France, Germany, Spain, Belgium and Luxembourg. Certified for participation in NATO-led Alliance for maintenance of peace in peacetime national contribution consists in the provision of military units under the operational command of Euro corps and other dedicated units can be provided if needed and have a longer period of preparation. The European Union has no plans of setting up permanent allied armed forces. The EU must find a solution to various challenges through flexible and appropriate solutions, to operate effectively and legally, to establish and maintain adequate security environment capabilities.[13] These abilities, will allow Europe to demonstrate a willingness to take its share of responsibility for global security and building a better world. For the EU to respond quickly and decisively using existing capabilities, a number of concepts for the practical use of certain abilities and amount of assets must be created. All documents of the Union's use of the armed forces must be systematically updated with the new military-political realities.[14] To realize the full range of tasks the European Union seeks to build adequate military structures with the required operational capabilities.

The Republic of Bulgaria participates in the Multinational Battle Group “HELBROC" with Greece as the leading country and also Romania and Cyprus. A Bulgarian military contingent took part in the operation to maintain security in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Operation "ALTHEA" involved a light infantry company guarding the headquarters of the operation, a national support element, group contact and monitor

staff and officers in the operation. Their mission was the protection of civilians; refugee camps and temporary camps for displaced persons, ensuring the deployment of the UN police force and stabilize the overall security situation in Chad.

The globalized world and the collapse of the bipolar world have led to large geopolitical transformation and reorientation. It has also resulted in a search for the optimal policy design for international security and economic development. Political and economic changes in the civilized world are accompanied by dramatic changes in the security environment. While the threat of a worldwide nuclear war that would destroy the world as we know it is reduced to a minimum, international terrorism and the activities of international organized crime groups, generating from developments and changes in the security environment, still pose a grave danger. These threats increasingly need a military response – fast, adequate, flexible. The European Union, one of the main guarantors of global security, is seeking ways and means for an appropriate response to changes in the security environment. This was achieved with the continuous development of the European Security and Defense Policy. As a member of Euro-Atlantic security structure Bulgaria has also transformed its troops and forces and has been influenced by changes in the security environment, responsibility for collective defense alliance commitments obligations and our obligations to international organizations - the UN, the OSCE, as well as regional initiatives.[15]

There are many issues with building defense capabilities in an increasingly complex world. This is an issue that concerns not only Bulgaria, but all countries that aspire to have more security in an increasingly dynamic strategic environment. It is a fact that today we are forced to act in a new strategic context radically different from the

Cold War. This requires the model on which we build our armed forces to be radically different from that followed after World War II, when we were subjected to a possible clash between two blocks. The strategic environment today is extremely dynamic, difficult to predict and is characterized by mutual and asymmetric risks and threats. Nowadays the world is multi polar, the opponent is more difficult to identify, and the risks and threats are increasingly unpredictable. This means the challenges facing the armed forces are becoming larger. They have to deal with an increasingly wide range of operations and have the necessary skills to operate in remote areas, often on other continents with various cultures and languages. Furthermore, purely military capabilities are inadequate to finalize a successful conflict conclusion. Conflict resolution requires an increasingly larger need for civilian components. The new strategic environment requires a serious need for transformation of the armed forces; they must be ready to implement new types of operations.[16] Future operations will be complex, multinational, joint, and expeditionary. To implement these operations require strategic transport, highly accurate weapons, new reconnaissance systems, communication and control systems, and new capabilities to protect forces and civilians. This requires significant resources which can hardly be provided in times of financial and economic crisis. Often the dilemma is whether to spend more on security and defense or to allocate more money for health, education and culture.

A review of the structure of the Bulgarian armed forces was a comprehensive and thorough process of strategic rethinking of defense, a united labor of large numbers of civilian and military experts from the entire defense system. It was a further detailed assessment of the security situation and the risks and threats to our country, available

and necessary defense capabilities, and last but not least the resource framework. Based on the White Paper, a plan was developed for development of the armed forces and an investment plan and program of the Ministry of Defense until 2020. These documents provide a clear vision for the managing and balancing of resources and a focus on the necessary skills in the new environment. Strategic documents were created with national interests, goals and a level of ambition in defense, aligned with the key strategic and conceptual documents of the EU and NATO. Considering the strategic rethinking of NATO and the adoption of the new Strategic Concept of NATO, Bulgaria made its national security strategy. These strategy document sets out requirements for the construction of an integrated security sector. On this basis it was adopted as the national defense strategy.[17]

The truth is we need smaller armed forces, but with better defense capabilities. They must be flexible and able to operate in the new environment and to be interoperable with the forces of our allies and partners. So the essence of our strategy is to build a single set of forces in a unified command and control system, operating both in peacetime and in times of crisis. They will have adequate organization, weapons and training and will be taught using the same uniform operating procedures, and the same methods and doctrines, and will be secured financially and materially. This requires the formation of leaders and commanders of a new type. To act in new conditions with increasing requirements, they should be able to command, interact and make decisions in the context of multinational joint operations, and often geographically remote and culturally different environment. In addition to purely military skills, they will need to

develop expertise and inherent civil leaders. For current operations, crisis management requires unity and complimentarily between the military and civilian expertise.

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